1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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868 524 knife, often the only article worn by the boy; the long hunting and fishing bow is foreshadowed by one a yard long, perhaps made of a simple piece of wild cane; the blow gun, a tube longer than the person, is in constant use; and I have seen some few actual toys such as a top made of a large round seed with a stick through it; and a rattle differing only in the degree of care in the making, from those used by the priests in their incantations.

584 The arrival of puberty is the signal for marriage, at least on the part of the girls. The courtships, if such they can be called, are carried on principally at the chicha drinkings, and I am assured that very few young [836] women retain their virginity until marriage. A plurality of wives is [595] allowed at the option of the husband. Many have two, and some three women. When a young man wishes to marry, having arranged with the girl, he applies to the father. The consent is practically a foregone conclusion; but the details of the bargain must be arranged. In most cases, [591] the groom goes to live at the house of his father-in-law, becomes, at least for a time, a member of the family, and contributes with his labor to the common support. Girls are thus available property to their families. But in case the man already has a wife; is in short, settled in life, and has his own home, he may not want to change his residence. He then compounds with the family; giving a cow, a couple of pigs, or other equivalent for the woman, in place of his services. No form of cere- [585] mony is required, and the marriage lasts as long as it suits the convenience of the parties. In case of infidelity on the part of the woman, or 586 undue cruelty on the man's part, they may separate. Sometimes, if the woman is unfaithful, the man whips her severely, and perhaps returns her to her family, or she, in a fit of resentment, leaves him. This may be for a year or so, or may be final; but during such separation either party is at liberty to make new connections, thereby remaining permanently apart.

832 Probably there is no better place to mention kissing than in connection with courtships and marriages. This agreeable custom seems to be entirely unknown. I have never seen one person among them kiss another, not even a mother her child.

582 614 There are certain limits within which parties may not marry. The tribes are divided into families, or something analogous to clans. Two persons of the same clan cannot marry. This is now a source of difficulty among the Tiribis. The tribe is so reduced that a number of marriageable persons of both sexes are unable to find eligible mates. I could not ascertain exactly how the question is settled as to which clan a person belongs, whether he inherits from father or mother, but so far as I could gather, I think from the father. Cousins, even to a remote degree, are 582 called brother and sister, and are most strictly prohibited from intermar- 614 riage. The law, or custom, is not an introduced one, but one handed [601] down from remote times. The penalty for its violation was originally very severe; nothing less than the burial alive of both parties. This

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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penalty was not only enforced against improper marriage, but even against illicit intercourse on the part of persons within the forbidden limits. Mr. Lyon related to me a case that occurred since he has been living in the country, where the power of the Chief Chirimo was insufficient to protect a man who married his second or third cousin. Fortunately for the delinquents, they succeeded in making their escape, though with difficulty, being followed two or three days' journey by the avengers. 582 684

Infidelity is not rare, and the husband has the redress of whipping the woman and dismissing her if he desires, and of whipping her paramour if he is able. But so cautious are the people about the blood limit of intermarriage, that a woman on giving birth to an illegitimate child, for fear that it will not know the family to which it belongs, will usually brave the punishment, and at once confess its paternity. 837 684 [848]

As cousins are called brother and sister, so are not only the brothers and sisters, but even the cousins of a wife or husband all called indiscriminately brother and sister-in-law; so that a person may on a single marriage find that he has annexed fifty or a hundred of these interesting relations. 601

On the death of the head of the family, the next oldest brother, or in default of a brother, a cousin or uncle assumes his place, and is then called father by the children. This does not involve any especial material duties, such as the support of the family; but is rather a sort of honorary title; giving him, however, the ruling voice in any family council or discussion. 593 768

On the death of an individual; if a young person, a woman, or a person of but little consequence, the body is prepared as soon as possible in the manner described below, and carried to the forest; but if a person of more consideration, there are some preliminary ceremonies. These I had the opportunity of witnessing in the case of an old man who died on the Uren when I was present. He belonged to one of the distinguished families, an ancestor, perhaps his father, having been one of the leaders in the war with Tiribi, and he the heir to, and possessor of, one of the few gold "eagles," or insignia of rank. He died in the night, and next morning, the body being in his hammock, covered with a piece of bark cloth; all of the chicha, chocolate, and food that the poor people of the house could get together on short notice were prepared. A fire was lighted, amidst singing, by twirling a pointed stick in a s cket on the face of another. This was the sacred fire, which was communicated to a small heap of wood placed on one side in the house. This could be used for no common purpose whatever. No ordinary fire could be lighted from it; not even could one use a stick of it to light his pipe. It must burn continuously for nine days. In case of its accidentally going out before that time, it must be relighted in the same manner as at first; and at the end of that time, only a priest could extinguish it, and he only with a calabash of chocolate, and during, or at the end rather, of the suitable incantation. 764 766 [372] [784]

6:Stone E-5 (1958-1959)1962

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people. As has been noticed earlier, a Cabécar married to a non-Cabécar does not live with those of his own tongue. There were a number of cases in the Shiroli Creek region where this was true, and in one exceptional case, special permission was granted to a *túgwa* to marry a *brupawak*, or a woman belonging to the clan of the now deceased Talamancan kings (*see* History). This was said to have been allowed because the *túgwa's* mother had been a *mediwak* and the *mediwak* can marry the *brupawak*.

Another group whose origin appears to have been Cabécar is the *síbawak* (*see* The Singers). This is also associated with the Talamanca side.

In the Talamanca Plain, the túgwa can marry: síbawak; mogriwak; kəbériwak;[122] mediwak; all Bribri clans.

The síbawak can marry: túgwa; murmuriwak; brupawak; suLariwak.

The mogriwak can marry: síbawak; kəbériwak; mediwak.

The brupawak can marry: síbawak; mogriwak; kəbériwak; mediwak.

The kəbériwak can marry: túgwa; murmuriwak; brupawak.

The mediwak can marry: túgwa; murmuriwak; brupawak; suLariwak.

[182] The Cabécar clan organization has degenerated rapidly. On the Pacific side, only two large groups appear: *kibegruwák*[123] and *uLabLurwa* in Ujarrás and China Kichá; although one *usegLa* has inter-married with a Bribri in Cabagra and there is a *túgwa* in China Kichá.

In Talamanca, the existing clans are: usegLa, túgwa, kibegruwák, bLeriwa, sənɟtswa, ɟəɟəwa, síbawa, múnúLiwa, uLabLurwa.

túgwa can marry: kibegruwák, bLeriwa, síbawa, usegLa.

A kibegruwák woman can marry: túgwa, sənɟtswa, ɟəɟəwa, múnúLiwa, uLabLurwa.

●601 **Kinship Terminology.** Gabb[124] points out that cousins are called brothers and sisters and those of a wife or husband, brother and sister-in-law.

[563]

[122] A new clan of Bribri and Negro mixture has recently been formed in the plain and is known as *dogcreek*, the place the Negroes came from.

[123] *See* Bribri term for Cabécares.

[123] This is also pronounced *kibegruwa*.

[124] Gabb, 1875, p. 497.

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● 601 There are distinct designations for relatives depending upon which side of the family they belong: whether on the mother's or the father's side. However, there is more than one way by which to denote certain relationships.

Kinship Terminology

Bribri

Female Line

Reference Terms		
ʒeami	Mo	Literally: ʒe (my) *ami* (mother); *be* (your or you) can be substituted for ʒe in all cases.
ʒeʒéuį	Fa Mo Mo	Literally: ʒe (my) ʒé (father) *uį* (grandmother)
ʒeuiʒé	Mo Mo Fa	
nauʒum	Si So	
	Si Da	
	Br So	
	Br Da	
ʒeamjeL	Mo Si	
ʒeamjeke	Mo Br	
Reference and Direct Terms		
uį	Mo Mo	
ujami	Mo Mo Mo	
sibaʒem[125]	Mo So Da	
	Mo So So	
	Mo Da So	
	Mo Da Da	
naú	Mo Br	(rarely direct)
Direct Terms		
amiLa	Mo Si	
nauʒeke[126]	Mo Br	
	Cousins (male)	
amiLaʒeke[127]	Mo Si	
	Cousins (female)	
	Mo Br Wi	
taLá[128]	Mo Mo Br	

Male Line

Reference Terms	
ʒeʒéduś	Fa Wi Br
	Fa Si Hu
ʒemįduś	Mo So So

[125] Is term Mo Mo *or* Mo Mo Mo uses when she speaks to grandchildren.
[126] Rare.
[127] Also reference term.

● 601

	Mo Da So	
	Mo Fa Fa	
ʒedunámj	Fa Mo Mo	
	So Mo	
	Da Mo	
	Da	(rarely used)
duúʒeke	Fa Fa	
	Fa Fa Br	
	Fa Fa Fa	
	Fa Mo Fa	

[582]

Also signifies people one can marry, i.e., people who are not "our" family.

ʒeʒe or ʒiʒé	Fa	Literally: ʒi or ʒe (my) ʒé (father); ʒi is used at times instead of ʒe because of sound. *be* (your) can be substituted.
ʒedúʒé	Fa Fa Fa	
	So	(rarely used in this sense)
ʒeʒékutí	Fa Si	
ʒeʒéeL	Fa Br	
éLie or éL	Fa Br So	
	Fa Si So	
	Distant male cousins	
kutí	Fa Br Da	
	Fa Si Da	
	Si	

Reference and Direct Terms

duś[179]	Fa Fa	Reciprocal in all cases.
	So So	
	Da So	
	Da Da	
	So Da	
	Mo Fa	
	Mo Fa Fa	
duaLa[180]	Fa So Da	
	Fa Da So	
	Fa So So	
	Fa Da Da	

Direct address

kaʒéke	Fa Si	
ʒé	Fa	
ʒéLa	Fa Br	
úʒék	Fa Mo	Reciprocal with grandchildren regardless of sex.
duwə	Fa Fa	Reciprocal with grandchildren regardless of sex.
ʒeaLaʒéke[181]	Fa Br	

[179] No term for male side.
[180] Very rarely used as direct address.
[179] Used by paternal grandmother to grandchildren.
[181] Rarely used.

Both Lines

601 *Reference Terms*

aLabuni[183]	Da or girl
nąǯum	Si So Si Da Br So Br Da
kabo	Term used by distant female cousins when speaking of male cousins. Is very affectionate.
[192] akeǯeke	The word means *old* and is applicable to persons or things.
aLa[185]	sibling (child) So
[582] ɔǯámi	Our family or our people. One cannot marry them. ɔ (our).
ǯeaké	Si referring to Br (female ego).
ǯeeL	Reciprocal between sisters. Reciprocal between brothers. Reciprocal between brothers and sisters.
ǯekuté	Br referring to Si (male ego).
tąǯe	Br referring to Si (very affectionate term). Cousins
kutąǯeke	Male referring to distant female cousins.
kutaie	Male referring to distant female cousins.

Direct Address

eL[184]	Br Si Mo Si So Mo Br So

Terms Denoting Sex

192

aLakerɟa	woman (any age)
aLawebiLa	man
aLaduLaken	boy
duLaduLa	youth; young (only applicable to males)

Non-Blood Relatives

601 *Reference and Direct Terms*

nofki	Da Hu	Wi Fa
ǯik	So Wi	Wi Mo

[183] *busi* signifies "young" or "new" and is applicable only to the feminine sex.
[185] My child is *ǯeLa*.
[184] Reciprocal between brothers and between sisters. Brothers cannot call sisters this nor vice-versa. Is

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aLakɛr	Wi
wam	Hu
ʒéʒike	Mo Hu (stepfather; rarely direct)
məLa	Br Wi (between women only)
dəbokɛt[185]	Wi Si Si Hu

Direct Terms

duí	Si Hu to Si Hu (reciprocal between brothers-in-law only)
aLaʒeke	Used by stepfather or stepmother for spouse's children.

Cabécar[186]

Female Line

Reference Terms

miku	Mo Mo
s mikú mina	Mo Mo Mo Mo
s ʒiba mina	So Mo my wife
aLagLə	Wi or woman
s ʒiba busí mina	Da Mo my wife
s mina kaga	Mo Fa
s miku kaga	Mo Mo Fa
s mina kuta	Mo Si
s mina eL	Mo Br
s mina	Mo
wɑjbə	Si Da
nujbə	Si So
tLa	Si Da ch Br Da ch
duɔwa	Fa Si Da (are available for marriage with Mo Si So)
ʒís tachi jengɔta[187]	Mo Fa

Male Line

Reference Terms

s kaga tachi	Fa Fa Fa Fa So So
juʒɔguə	Fa Mo
miku[188]	Fa Mo
s kaga kuta	Fa Si
s kaga eL	Fa Br
kaga	Fa
s kaga kaga	Fa Fa
dəbai	Br So (also direct) Fa Br (reciprocal)

Reference Terms

eL	Br
kuta	Si (usually youngest)

reference term between male or female cousins.

[185] Reciprocal only between women.

[186] Throughout: ʒís or *s* alone signifies "my."

[187] *Jengɔta* signifies "own."

[188] This is rarely used for father's side.

● 601

ʒis kibí	Elder Br
ʒis bacha	Youngest Br
ʒis kuta mLej	Eldest Si
ʒis kuta tsisekek	Youngest Si
ʒis kuta bacha	Youngest (last) Si *or* Si youngest Da
ʒis eL bacha	Youngest (last) Si *or* Br youngest Da
sibaiba	Mo Mo So Mo Mo Da
ʒiba	Da So child
ʒibabusí[189]	Da young girl

Reference Terms

ʒiba jiʒiʒi	So Hu of Da
dabai	Stepson; Br of the uncle Stepdaughter; Si of the aunt
dabo	Si Da Hu Br Da Hu
daboguor	Br Wi, Hu Si } Reference and direct
dwa	Si Hu, Hu Br } Direct. Reciprocal between men.
mą	Br Wi, Hu Si } Direct. Reciprocal between women.
nuąki	Hu Fa Wi Fa
ʒak	Hu Mo Wi Mo
klawa	Cousins (female)

Direct Terms

ʒis kaga	Fa
ʒis kaga eL	Fa Br
ʒis kaga tsisekek	Fa youngest Br
nuí	Mo Br Fa Br
kaʒigue	Fa Si (also reference) Mo Si
ʒis tsisekek	Youngest Br

Both Lines

Direct and Reference Terms

eLwa	Fa Br sibling Mo Br sibling Fa Si sibling Mo Si sibling
tschi	Mo Fa (reciprocal) Fa Fa

[192]

[189] *busi* means "young" and is used only for the feminine sex.

601 tschiwa Mo Fa Fa
Fa Fa Fa
So So
So Da
Da So
Da Da

mikuwa Fa Mo Mo
Mo Mo Mo

423 **Land Tenure.** We have already noted that villages in the European sense are foreign to the Talamancans. The clan has a given area [614] for the use of their members. This involves a [241] river or creek (*see* Villages). The individual family plants in a different spot yearly within this territory (*see* Farming and Cultivated Foods). The Cabécares of the Pacific slope have begun to recognize land property. In [351] Ujarrás, fences are seen around vegetable and house gardens. The Bribri, however, have only demonstrated such tendencies in the vicinity of the school.

428 **Property.** The property understood as individual and which can be handed down at death [422] [423] pertains to personal effects and the house. When a man dies his property goes to his brothers and sisters. If he has a mother they go to his mother. When she dies they go to whomever she wants to leave them, a son, [178] daughter, etc. Today, however, everything [429] goes to the children—not to the wife. The wife remains as guardian for the children. When a man dies without leaving an adult son, his [736] head wife receives everything, but she is obligated to take care of the other wives until they remarry. The eldest son receives the greater portion, but all children have a share.

443 **Trade.** Markets were and are unknown among the Talamancan peoples. Trade was accomplished by itinerant groups or in areas set aside for this purpose. Products of the sea, 438 such as salt and *chaquira*, shell beads which [436] served as a medium of exchange, were important items in pre-Columbian times. Also in demand were gold, wild pigs, slaves, and cotton cloth.[140]

Certain vestiges of this custom remain. In fact, in the remote areas, and even in Salitre [437] and Ujarrás, articles are often traded and

[140] *See*, e.g., Fernández, 1886, vol. V.

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* 539

22. *itsǫ*[502] (*Bribri*)

1. Then we are going to hear him sing.
We are going to bring *itsǫ* from where we hid him,
To bring him again inside the house.
Then we are going to sing with *itsǫ*.

23. Sister[503] (*Bribri*)

1. Sister where [are you] where [are you]?
Little ugly[504] sister,
Where did they hide the sick poor daughter?

2. *See* Linguistic Text.

3. Sister from what place do you come, come, come, angry [one], you come ugly [one].
From what place do you come? Where are you going?

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22. itsǫ́

1. ɕmatá samj uiɬtaśk.[505]
samí itsǫ́ tsúk wę so-rá ibLakwaq ę,
itsųk mɕLę demɕLę wɬ́ke.[506]
étą samj-ketké tsak itsǫ́ wós.

23. taše

1. taše wɬ́-La[507]-wɬ́?
as[508]-taše-suLuLa,
Lá-suLą[509]-durkj siɬ́e[510] ibLá-durkj?

2. ɬsteweste[511] westewe stewée,

3. a[512]-taše wɬ́ kɬ́-wɬ́kj[513] iro-ro,[514] iro-ro, iro-ro, uLuLa, iro-suLú.
kɬ́-iro-wɬ́?[515] wó-La[516] iromi?

[601]

[502] *Itsǫ* is the grandfather of *serika*.
[503] This is an affectionate term applied to cousins, brothers, sisters.
[504] This is an affectionate term. It can also mean "angry" in an affectionate sense.
[505] This signifies to pray and to sing. It is also pronounced *siátsuk*.
[506] *a* is house. *wóske* is "inside the house."
[507] For sound only.
[508] For sound only.
[509] This word also means "convalescent."
[510] This word signifies "poor in spirit." The word "poor" or *síde* is usually accompanied by a noun which denotes what one is poor in, such as land, food, etc.
[511] This whole line is for the sound only.
[512] For sound only.
[513] Literally, "in what place."
[514] *ro* here and in the two following words is for sound only.
[515] For sound only.
[516] For sound only.